LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Year Of Decision

HARRY POLLITT

Trade Unions—Alert

WILLIAM PEARSON

Through Error To Truth

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

January, 1952

One shilling and sixpence

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THE GREAT "RESOLUTION"

'THE year 1952 was one of the worst of these times; the workmen suffered dreadfully,' says Old Hammond, citizen of the future, describing How The Change Came, to us in Britain. It was then, he tells, that the Combined Workers passed their great 'Resolution', demanding those first steps, under the leadership of the Committee for Public Safety, to break the power of capitalism. Writing his *News From Nowhere* in 1890, thus did William Morris look forward to the very year now opening, in which he pictured in such vivid detail the turning point of that long struggle. Whatever this year may in fact hold, one thing is certain; it will be marked by the most intense and widespread struggle to thrash out the way forward for the Labour movement. Just as Socialists of varying views discussed Labour unity and the way forward in Morris's journal *Commonweal* in the 'eighties, so today the same fight in present-day conditions is carried on in our own *Labour Monthly*. Last month there was *Labour's New Fight*, by S. O. Davies, M.P., and *Lessons of the Election*, by William Gallacher; this month, Harry Pollitt, D. N. Pritt, and the Scottish miners' leader, William Pearson, make their contributions. This high standard will be kept up throughout 1952.

SHAPE 1952 TO YOUR PATTERN

What of the job done by the readers themselves? In just how many workshops and localities are *L.M.* readers getting together, discussing, crystallising their own opinion and that of their neighbours? For example, there is the big London engineering factory, boasting many readers, who meet each month to discuss the Notes of the Month—shop stewards and other active trade unionists; all influential people, these. I hear of groups in Scotland and the North also using discussion round *L.M.* as a clearing house of ideas, arming themselves and their friends in the Labour movement to roll back the tide of reaction and war with which we are threatened in 1952. The practical problem of extending the circulation which we have maintained, despite rising prices, is first and last the problem of the circulation of ideas—and circulating them fast. Letters I get from readers of all kinds and ages stress this daily. Writes an old age pensioner, 'As a lifelong Socialist, 35 years a trade unionist, now on retirement, I have been a subscriber for very many years, and will continue. Success to *L.M.* in the year ahead!' A young member of the Labour League of Youth comes new to it and finds it 'a great publication'. From a distinguished Welshman: 'I wouldn't be without the valiant *L.M.* for anything—a torch of truth lighting the way to understanding and action. The whole movement is indebted to you.' A Scot: 'It goes on satisfying one of my most urgent needs—indispensable indeed.' And from overseas. A South African: 'Unequalled for sense and courage.' A Canadian: 'I would not miss your blow by blow account of the ideological battle. Could you send a sample copy to these four friends?' Yes, indeed we will. In response to demands from readers we print again on the cover a form for applying for Specimen Copies to be sent to people whom readers feel should come to know it—and to know it is to become a regular reader. Do please make full use of this scheme; so you help to shape 1952 to your pattern, not to the pattern of the defeatists, the reactionaries and warmongers.

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Notes of the Month

Peace or War in 1952?

Peace is in the air. . . . Look at the attitude of our European allies. Some are afraid we are so anti-Russia that we are inviting war and passing up peace. . . .

This puts Truman under tremendous pressure. International politics require that he do something to combat the spreading doubts overseas that maybe, after all, it is United States policy that keeps war threats high.

But Washington is frankly doubtful of the results.

('Business Week', November 10, 1951.)

WILL 1952 see the world move closer towards peace or plunge deeper into war? The answer to this question does not depend on prediction, crystal-gazing, inspired rumours or even the strategic diagrams of the planners of a third world war. It is true that *Collier's* semi-official Pentagon-inspired warmongers' hand-out gloatingly fixes the magic date for 1952 to open the war for 'Russia's defeat and occupation' by American troops. However, this is wishful thinking of the lowest order which has aroused universal justified contempt. It is true that 1952 has always

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been the favourite date for the Grand War Plan of the American imitators of *Mein Kampf;* and that Superman himself, the All-Highest Supreme Commander Eisenhower has publicly designated the end of 1952, in an interview given to a Paris weekly, as the date for his planned military 'show down' with the Soviet Union. But there can still be many a slip between the American itching finger on the trigger and the final detonation. America is pouring arms and military subsidies into Europe, like a bootlegger selling hooch or an old English opium-trader forcing opium on China, and is working up tension and division between the European nations to set them at war with one another. But the European peoples are showing signs of revolt against this destiny and increasing suspicion of the American plans, just as the Middle Eastern peoples are revolting against the Supreme Middle Eastern Command being foisted upon them. Hence, alongside the frenzied and intensified preparations for war, new currents for peace are in the air. Will there be war in 1952? The answer to this question depends finally on the action of the peoples, and not least of the British people.

On the Edge of the Precipice

We enter the threshold of 1952 on the eve of grave decisions. Churchill's visit to Washington brings into the forefront the whole future of Anglo-American relations and international peace: the choice between deeper subservience, economic ruin and suicidal military vassaldom in return for a pittance of dollars, or a fresh initiative for Great Power co-operation, the reduction of tension and easing of the burden of armaments. Immediately following Churchill's visit to Washington in January, the Lisbon meeting of the Atlantic War Alliance in February is scheduled to ratify the reckless super-rearmament plans adopted provisionally at the Rome meeting in November. Adenauer's visit to Paris and London has placed the seal on the agreement in principle for West German rearmament; but the form of the plan has not yet been agreed; the fatal step has not yet been taken. Disarmament is still blocked by the Western Powers at Paris; but the pressure of popular demand has compelled the discussions to continue. In the Middle East the armed clashes in Egypt are developing to the scale of undeclared war. In the Far East peace has still so far been blocked by the American Command in Korea, but the action of their soldiers for peace has cut across their plans. In Malaya a new intensified war offensive is planned by the Lyttel-

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ton visit, even at the same time as the failure of the already vast war operations over three and a half years is admitted.

Race of Peace and War

The yelping of the Western war dervishes for violent military action, to utilise quickly the enormous 'overbalance' (in the *Observer's* phrase) of Atlantic armaments, has never been more open and aggressive. But at the same time a crisis develops within the Atlantic War Alliance, as the economic burden of rearmament is knocking out the economies of the Western European countries, and their peoples draw back before the holocaust. It is a critical moment, full of danger, in which major war could be precipitated in Europe as suddenly as Dulles, Bradley, Johnson and MacArthur, defeated in China and desperate, after only a few days meeting on the spot, let loose war in Korea in the summer of 1950. But it is also a moment in which the mounting dilemmas confronting the war planners may well give pause to the remaining more sober heads among them, as the strength of the fight for peace is visibly rising on all sides. The race between peace and war reaches new and ever closer sharpness in 1952.

Paris and Disarmament

For the United Nations' Assembly at Paris in November, President Truman and Mr. Acheson found it necessary, in face of the rising hostility of popular feeling in the Western European countries—and not least in face of the unmistakable warning signs of mass feeling in the British General Election—to wrap up the real programme for intensified rearmament which Mr. Acheson had brought in his pocket for Rome by going through the motions of presenting a loudly publicised 'plan for disarmament'. Unfortunately, as so often happens with these latest American productions, the publicity outran the performance, which turned out a flop. Even the gorge of the obsequious semi-official press in Britain rose at the imposture. *The Times* (November 8) described the plan as 'merely a propaganda effort to forestall a similar move by the Soviet delegation in Paris', while the *Economist* (November 17) found it

> a tactical move in the cold war. The world, as the Secretary of State said next day, does not want catchwords, tricks or propaganda gestures; but that unfortunately was just what it was given by Mr. Truman.

In the United States the *Washington Post* bluntly described it as a 'cruel deception :

> We cannot think of any ranker hypocrisy than for the United States to propose disarmament at this time.

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It was too patently obvious that this peculiar 'disarmament plan' made the most elaborate proposals to enable American-dominated missions to inspect bombing sites and strategic centres in the Soviet Union, and to ensure American ownership and control of the sources of atomic energy and of all atomic constructive work in the Soviet Union, but made no provision for the reduction of armaments or the prohibition of atomic weapons. Hence it was only necessary for Vishinsky to present the concrete Soviet proposals for the reduction of armaments, prohibition of atomic weapons, and international control and inspection, for the contrast to be glaring. Ruefully the *Observer* drew the conclusion:

> There is no longer any doubt that the West is emerging very badly from the Four-Power disarmament talks. . . .
>
> The Western representatives agreed to the meetings mainly in deference to the war fears of the small Powers. . . . The purpose of bringing up the subject, which led the Western partners to talks with Mr. Vishinsky, was to reassure world opinion against Communist allegations that the West wanted war.
>
> Seen from the lobbies of the United Nations, the demonstration has fallen flat. In so far as this is what the Americans call 'a battle for the minds of men', the West is being resoundingly defeated.
>
> (*Observer*, December 9, 1951.)

The result of the disarmament discussions at the United Nations' Assembly has strengthened the fight for disarmament, in spite of the obstructive role of the Atlantic War Pact representatives.

Rome and Rearmament

In the midst of the Paris discussions on disarmament, the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, Britain and France had more important business than to discuss disarmament at the United Nations Assembly. Where had they gone? They had gone to Rome for the Atlantic Pact Council behind closed doors to hammer out with General Eisenhower the real plans for intensified rearmament and for West German rearmament. General Eisenhower, in his capacity as the political general and would-be future War President, thumped the table, roundly castigated the trembling European satellites for their delays, hesitations and dissensions, and set out the orders for an army of one million men in the field by 1952, together with 12 German divisions by 1954. In this contrast between Paris and Rome the truth of the policy of the Western Powers was revealed. Pretences at Paris. Reality at Rome. Publicity at Paris. Secrecy at Rome.

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Peace talk at Paris. War measures at Rome. No wonder *The Times* was driven to comment on the contrast.

> Western policy seems at first glance to be hopelessly confused and confusing. The Western Powers have always complained that Russia pursues a dual policy, talking of peace and partnership while stirring up troubles wherever she can, but now they themselves are publicly committed to courses which may seem to lead in entirely opposite directions. They are rearming as fast as they can while discussing disarmament in Paris, and they are working to bring Western Germany wholly into the Western camp, while putting forward proposals (again in Paris) for unifying the whole of Germany.
>
> (*The Times*, December 6, 1951.)

Eisenhower's War Call

In vain the threadbare sophistical argument is offered that the aim of the frenzied super-rearmament is only for peace, since the declared objective is to 'negotiate from strength'—the polite diplomatic phrase for the method of the big-stick ultimatum and the 'preventive war'. General Eisenhower gave the game away in an interview to the French weekly, *Paris-Match*, at the end of October just before leaving for his consultation with Truman in the United States. In this interview General Eisenhower declared that war was possible, though not inevitable. He went on to make clear that the possibility of war arose from the side of the United States and not of the Soviet Union. By the end of 1952, he declared (note the date continually harped on by the Atlantic strategists), although the Soviet Union would be 'even less likely than now' to attack Western Europe, the Atlantic Powers would by then be completely armed and would 'have to take the risk of a showdown' involving 'a delicate moment for peace'. The formula of the 'showdown' on the basis of overwhelming armed forces is the familiar formula of the Fulton programme for a 'preventive war', i.e. an aggressive war. The 'showdown', he continued, would be 'a stormy one', thus indicating that it would take the form of an ultimatum to the Soviet Union, but the risk would be 'worth taking'. The military character of the calculation was further shown in his declaration that, if fighting followed, the Western armies might be dispatched to South Russia or to the 'area round Leningrad'. *Mein Kampf* was never half as specific as this declaration of the heirs of Hitler who dream of resuming his ill-fated expedition. Nor is this the irresponsible raving of a bellicose publicist or fire-eating politician out of office, to be suitably disclaimed by authority as

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'unofficial'. It is the declared policy of the Supreme Commander of the Atlantic armed forces, including the humble vassal contingent of the British armed forces.

Collier's Blueprint for War

It is in this context that needs to be seen the significance of the publication in millions of copies of the special edition of *Collier's Magazine* on October 27, 1951, devoting its entire issue of 130 pages to a 60,000 word presentation of the plan of campaign for a third world war for the destruction of the Soviet Union under the general title of 'Russia's Defeat and Occupation, 1952-1960', and embellished by a pictorial cover depicting a gigantic G.I. with fixed bayonet planted across the entire expanse of the Soviet Union, whose Western territory is shaded as 'Occupied' with Moscow indicated as 'Occupation Headquarters'. This is the 'peaceful' literary fodder provided for the American public and circulated in millions of copies throughout the world to demonstrate American 'peaceful' intentions. The accompanying editorial, under cover of the usual pious pretence of a hope that the war may be avoided on condition of a complete prior capitulation by the Soviet Union, proclaims its purpose to be 'to warn the evil masters of the Russian people that their vast conspiracy to enslave humanity is the dark downhill road to World War III', and sets out the governing principle that the Soviet Government 'must change its outlook and policies . . . or . . . disappear from the face of the earth'. The final triumph of the Higher Culture of the American Way of Life is appropriately depicted with pictures, and with the literary aid of Mr. Priestley, to demonstrate how (in the words of our good friend Joanny Berlioz in his *Democratie Nouvelle)* 'across millions of human corpses brainless pin-up girls may shake their haunches on the stage where once the barbarians presented *Boris Godounov'*.

A Semi-Official Blueprint

It is not surprising that this revolting stuff should have shocked civilised opinion throughout the world. But the full significance of this glaringly damning self-revelation has been concealed from the public, because the embarrassed apologists of the Atlantic War Pact, confronted with this ugly demonstration of the true essence of their programme, have sought to shrug their shoulders and dismiss it as a deplorable

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journalistic stunt, illustrative of the famous principle of the 'freedom of the millionaire press', but in no sense indicative of official policy. Unfortunately for the pharisees and hypocrites, the facts reveal a different situation. This blueprint, it is explained in the magazine, was elaborately prepared and worked out over a period of ten months on the basis of

> study and consultation with political, military and economic thinkers, *including high-level Washington officials* and foreign-affairs experts both here and abroad.

The New York *Nation* of November 10 draws the conclusion that

> *It was therefore a quasi-official American plan for World War III.*

The pharisees and hypocrites who blench before the pictures and seek to turn their gaze the other way had better face the reality of what they are in fact working to prepare.

Dulles 'Striking Force'

Are these war proclamations of General All-high Eisenhower and *Collier's* Pentagon blueprint isolated outrages? On the contrary, they are only specimens of the flood. Listen to John Foster Dulles, whose key role in the initiation of the war in Korea and in the planning of the Atlantic War Coalition is familiar, and who has now reached to new heights in describing the schedule for the war of aggression. Speaking at Detroit on November 27, he declared that the policy of 'containment' of the Soviet Union involved too heavy a strain, and that the aim of the Western Powers must be 'to muster a combined striking force of great power' (observe 'striking force'—not defensive force). What should be the function of this Atlantic 'striking force'? Sweet Daydreamer Dulles was nothing if not explicit.

> That means having, at whatever are the convenient places, the capacity to hit Russia's interior lines of communication with such disruptive power that its highly centralised Asiatic State will fall apart.
>
> (J. F. Dulles at Detroit, *New York Times*, November 28, 1951.)

The 'Asiatic State will fall apart'. How exactly Dulles repeats the words of his predecessor, Hitler: 'The giant State in the East is ripe for collapse.' Or, for the matter of that, the same theme was echoed by Churchill in his speech at Strasbourg in 1950 when he vaingloriously proclaimed:

> The use of this weapon (the atom bomb) would shake the foundations of the Soviet Union throughout the vast areas of Russia, and the breakdown of communications and centralised control might well enable the brave Russian people to free themselves from a tyranny far worse than that of the Tsars.
>
> (Winston Churchill at Strasbourg, August 15, 1950.)

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From Hitler, Goering and Goebbels to Eisenhower, Dulles and Churchill—what a glorious pedigree! And what a warning for the outcome!

Mr. Churchill's Programme

It would be erroneous to imagine that this publicly proclaimed Atlantic Anti-Comintern Pact programme for an aggressive war is confined to the official political and military leadership in the United States and is not repeated equally by its adherents from the camp of reaction in Britain and other satellite countries. By all their past statements Mr. Churchill and the Conservative Party are deeply committed to this programme for launching an aggressive war with the avowed aim of the destruction of the Soviet Union. Mr. Churchill tried his hand a third of a century ago in his anti-Soviet war of intervention—with results no more glorious than Hitler's. He has not yet given up. If Mr. Churchill stood for peace, he could naturally claim that these were regrettable events of over thirty years ago, an unhappy episode best forgotten, by no means corresponding to his present aims of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union. On the contrary. It is not suspicious enemies who dig up his aggressive past in order to discredit his present professions for peace. It is Mr. Churchill himself who digs up his discreditable past in order to glory in it.

War to 'Strangle Bolshevism'?

In his speeches during recent years Mr. Churchill has repeatedly emphasised that he stands by the aims of his anti-Soviet wars of intervention (i.e. the aim to overthrow the Soviet Union by military aggression), that he regards it as justified by history, and that the only misfortune is that it failed. In Parliament in December, 1948, Mr. Churchill said of the anti-Soviet wars of intervention led by him during 1918-1921:

> The day will come when the effort I made in those far gone years will be considered to have been wise and right.
>
> (Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, December 1, 1948.)

And again at Boston in 1949:

> The failure to strangle Bolshevism at birth . . . lies heavily upon us today.

How can Mr. Churchill expect credence to be attached to his professions of his desire for peace, when his concrete current

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statements, which he has not repudiated, thus point straight to the aim of aggressive war?*

Conservative Programme for War

Nor is it only a question of Mr. Churchill. The Conservative Party is not less deeply committed by its official declarations to a programme for aggressive war. Consider the significance of the Conservative Election Manifesto in the last general election:

> We cannot accept as permanent the loss of political freedom imposed by force upon the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. These peoples must be given the hope that their rightful place awaits them among the free nations.
>
> (Conservative Election Manifesto, October, 1951.)

Perhaps it may be suggested by the apologists, smarting under the charge of warmongering, that this is to be regarded as only a harmless pious aspiration, not a war aim—although it is sufficiently obvious that it is an aim which could only be achieved by a victorious war of Western imperialism. In that case examine the fuller and more explicit version set out in the Conservative Election Manifesto in 1950:

> We are not prepared to regard those ancient states and nations which have already fallen beneath the Soviet yoke as lost for ever. *There is every reason to regard as one area the territories of Europe from the English Channel to the Soviet Frontier of 1938: the proper purposes of Western policy will not be attained until they are partners in one Europe.* (Conservative Election Manifesto, February, 1950.)

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*It is worth noting, in view of the legend of Churchill as an opponent of Fascism, that in the current section of his memoirs of the second world war at present being published in Britain he goes out of his way to pour eulogies on the record of Mussolini and Fascism:

> 'Thus ended Mussolini's 21 years' dictatorship in Italy, during which he had raised the Italian people from the Bolshevism into which they might have sunk in 1919 to a position in Europe such as Italy had never held before. A new impulse had been given to the national life. The Italian Empire in North Africa was built. Many important public works in Italy were completed . . . *His fatal mistake was the declaration of war on France and Great Britain* . . . Even when the issue of the war became certain Mussolini would have been welcomed by the Allies.'
>
> (W. S. Churchill 'The Second World War', Vol. V, excerpt in the *Daily Telegraph*, November 7, 1951.)

No doubt the present revival of Fascism and Mussolini's *Popolo d'Italia* in Italy will receive suitable encouragement from these remarks. This is the same Churchill who attached his dubious signature to the Declaration on Europe at the Crimea Conference in February, 1945, proclaiming the aim 'to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism'. It is the same Churchill who at Teheran in December, 1943, according to these same memoirs, swore to oppose German rearmament for fifty years:

> 'We have now learned something. Our duty is to make the world safe for at least fifty years by German disarmament, by preventing rearmament.'

Fifty years? Not even eight years.

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Here there is no room for misconception. The aim is 'Pan-Europe' (the old aim of Hitler) i.e. the destruction of the Peoples' Democracies. The Soviet Union is to be forced to 'the frontier of 1938'—i.e. the aim is partition of the Soviet Union. The 'purposes of Western policy'—i.e. of the Atlantic Pact—are directed to this aim of aggression. For one thing is certain. It does not matter whether these aims are described as 'liberation' and the 'return to Western freedom' (in the sense understood by the Stock Exchange and Wall Street), or more accurately as the restoration of fascist dictatorship and the return of the capitalists and landlords. In either case it remains equally inescapable that these aims could only be achieved by war. So long as these aims stand in the official Conservative Programme, and are not repudiated, the Conservative Party stands committed to the aim of aggressive war. The charge of warmongering against the Conservative Party is proved to the hilt.

War is Not Inevitable

The fact of these megalomaniac aggressive war aims of the leaders of the Atlantic Pact, of the United States financiers and militarists and their British Tory allies, is a blunt fact of the present international situation. Blindness to it is folly. It is not a question of 'suspicions', but of plain facts and evidence. All the well-intentioned muddle-headed talk about 'both sides fearing attack', 'Marxist doctrinaire theories about Western aggressive aims', etc., are foolish, ignorant poppycock of the same type that fell into the trap of the so-called 'appeasement' of Hitler. All the military and diplomatic experts, of whatever school of opinion, of the Western world have repeatedly reported that there is no sign, prospect or expectation of a Soviet attack, and that this gives rise to a special technical aspect of their problem, how to provoke the war, since the Soviet Union will not begin it Hence the increasingly open call for a 'preventive war'. The aggressive aim of the Atlantic War Alliance and its American leaders is as much a central fact of the present international situation as the previous equally open and obvious aims of *Mein Kampf*. It is for this aim that the super-rearmament of the West is being forced forward, that the Nazis and Japanese militarists are being rearmed, that the strategic bases and commands are being established all over the world. This is the concrete danger of war. But the fact of this aim of aggressive war of the present rulers of the United States and their satellites does not mean that

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war is inevitable. On the contrary, the contradictions confronting the war planners are mounting, and these contradictions are essentially the expression of the opposition of the peoples of the entire world to the plans for war. It is these two sides of the picture that constitute the essence of the present international situation.

Military Contradictions

A crisis of the Atlantic War Alliance is developing, in the military field, in the economic field, in the relations between its partners, and above all in the rising opposition of the peoples to the plans for aggressive war. Take the military contradictions. The war in Korea has revealed that the entire, most barbarous, ruthless, spendthrift concentration of the military, naval and air forces of the Grand War Alliance, drawing men and arms from all over the world and from the most technically advanced imperialist industrial nations for the invasion of one small Asiatic country with twenty million inhabitants, has failed to break the resistance of the Korean people and their Chinese volunteer allies. In the bitter words of a leading American journal:

> *Korea is the first major war the United States ever fought and didn't win.* (United States News and World Report, November 9, 1951.)

Malaya and Vietnam are teaching the same lesson. That experience may well give pause to the most rabid militarists of the Pentagon before embarking on more ambitious adventures—even though it can at the same time increase the danger of new desperate madman thrusts of the defeated gambler, just as the fiasco in China led to the American aggression in Korea.

New Factors

All the initial advantages of equipment, weapons, numbers, air and sea power, brute might, were on the side of the Western aggressors. But war depends in the end on the people to fight it. A war of aggression can never command the same support from its conscripted soldiers, the same limitless sacrifice, endurance and resolution as has been shown by the Korean people and their Chinese volunteer allies, fighting against aggression, for the defence of their own country from invasion, for their national freedom and existence, for the end of the landlords, for the rule of the people. In the final phase the revolt of the United States and other Western soldiers against continuing the criminal butchery has forced forward the cease-fire negotiations against the will of their commanders to continue the conflict. And in the

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final phase the loss of command of the air by the Western aggressors, and the technical superiority of the aircraft confronting them has aroused howls of alarm from all the strategists of Western aggression, since their entire strategy for a victorious atomic war of aggression has been based on the assumption of undisputed air superiority. These new factors are of profound significance for the future. They are raising heavy obstacles in the way of the war plans of the aggressors and strengthening the defence of peace.

Contradictions in Europe and the Middle East

No less manifest is the increase of the contradictions between the national interests of the countries dragged into the Atlantic War Alliance and the burdens placed upon them by the American overlords, the requirements of rearmament and the plans for war. The revolt of the peoples in the Middle East has compelled the Atlantic Middle East Command to be imposed openly against them. In Western Europe the plan for West German rearmament was adopted in principle over a year ago at Washington and Ottawa; but the political formula for its fulfilment has not yet been found. The contradictions even between the satellite Governments has been shown in the conflicts over the 'European Army', 'European unity', the Pleven Plan, the Schuman Plan, the conditions of West German rearmament, the Bonn demand for 'equality', as well as the proportions of the burden of rearmament. While the fiction of the 'European Army' (actual American vassal army) was devised to cover the reality of West German rearmament and circumvent French opposition, Britain refuses to enter the 'European Army' (any more than to accept the American Atlantic Command); Pleven and Schuman can count on no majority in the Assembly for the plan without Britain in it; Adenauer is faced with rising opposition in West Germany, where the people have shown in repeated newspaper polls their hostility to rearmament. The West German people would prefer German unification and peace to being turned into cannon fodder for war on their East German brothers and for resuming Hitler's Crusade to the East. This does not mean that the plan for West German rearmament will not be ruthlessly forced forward by its sponsors. But it does mean that the basis exists to strengthen the fight against West German rearmament, and for a unified, democratic demilitarised Germany, and to build the united oppo-

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sition of the Western European peoples against the American war plans.

Economic Contradictions

Even more obvious are the economic contradictions besetting the war plans, as the full burden of rearmament begins to make itself felt on the Western European peoples and is reflected in the disorganisation of the economies of Britain and France and the mounting deficits of their balance of payments. Eisenhower at Rome demands the still further increase of the scale and speed of rearmament, so that the British programme of £4,700 million would become £6,000 million. But the British Government has intimated to the United States Government that even the £4,700 million programme is beyond the physical capacity of Britain to fulfil. All the desperate hopes and pleas of the satellite governments for new dollar subsidies to alleviate their crisis cannot save them from the necessity to impose crippling burdens and cuts which increase the unpopularity of their policy and intensify the opposition of the people to the American war programme. Far vanished are the days of Marshall 'philanthropy'. The cost of American 'aid' in hardship and shortage and rising prices is now beginning to be realised as the prelude to the cost in blood.

Revolt in Europe

Most important of all is the developing popular consciousness in Britain and in all the countries of Western Europe that the real menace of war comes, not from the Soviet Union, as they have been told, but from the United States. Two years ago, when the Atlantic Pact was formed, the myth of 'defence' was still able to win a wide measure of currency in non-political circles subjected to the lies of the mass press; and the spokesmen of the left were still in a minority in exposing the real aggressive aims of American war policy. Today the realisation of the danger of an American-inspired aggressive war has become a commonplace in all circles. It received expression in speech after speech of the Labour Party back benchers in the Parliamentary debates on foreign policy and defence. The 'finger on the trigger' has now begun to be seen on all sides as an American finger. This new development has aroused intense alarm in American expression:

> There is great belief in Western Europe that the American-led

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rearmament effort is a mask for an intended United States aggressive warfare against Russia.

(New York *World Telegram*, October 30, 1950 .)

The Fight in Britain

No longer 'philanthropists', no longer 'saviours' and 'defenders'—but invaders and aggressors. In proportion as this realisation spreads, the conditions are strengthening for the advance of the mass political struggle to end the era of satellite governments, and for the liberation of Western Europe from the American economic and military grip, before war begins, and in time to prevent war. Therein lies the hope for the future and for peace. And there is no question that the very heart and centre of this political struggle is at this moment in Britain, whose initiative can turn the scales throughout the world. The profound ferment now developing within the Labour Movement since the election is the expression of a ferment among all sections. The British people are beginning to stir to shake themselves free from the web of lies and subjection and to strike a blow for their own freedom, for the future of Britain and for the peace of the world. For these aims and for this developing struggle the signals are calling to us all to play our part in 1952.

December 12, 1951. R.P.D.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

RALPH FOX ON CHINA

IN the middle of the last century Western capitalism, especially British capitalism, was growing vigorously. Today it is visibly decaying in many places, above all in Britain, which has been the leader of imperialist piracy in China hitherto, while over the vast territories of Russia it has disappeared altogether, and for thousands of miles of land frontier contiguous to China there is today a chain of free Socialist republics. Undoubtedly, the imperialists will try once again to divide and conquer. There is a rich Chinese capitalist class which is open to anti-revolutionary propaganda, and to suborn this class in order to disintegrate once more the Chinese revolution becomes the principal task of imperialist diplomacy. The resistance to this falls largely on the Chinese Communist Party, on whose ability to unite peasantry with proletariat under the leadership of the latter depends the successful future of the Chinese revolution.

From *Great Britain and China*, by Ralph Fox, January, 1927.

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YEAR OF DECISION

HARRY POLLITT

THE year that has just passed saw the growing awakening of large sections of the British people to the disastrous consequences of the policy of the Tory and Right Wing Labour leaders. Now the urgent need is to develop a mighty united movement of action which will put an end to that policy, and bring about a completely new policy of peace and social advance. If 1951 was the year of awakening, 1952 must be the year of decision and action.

During the past few months the pretence that we could have 'rearmament without tears' has been torn aside by the harsh realities of life. The fact now has to be faced that the policy of the British imperialists and the colossal arms programme which they are carrying through on American orders, are ruining Britain and doing irreparable damage to its economy. Early in 1951 the Government's 'Economic Survey' boasted:

> The objective of the European Recovery Programme was reached during 1950, and the economy of the United Kingdom ceased to depend upon external financial assistance.

But 1952 begins with Churchill going to America to beg on bended knees for American dollars to try to prop up British Imperialism. The same 'Economic Survey' declared that the gold and dollar reserves might 'cease to grow or even decline somewhat' but that any such decline could be kept 'within tolerable bounds'. Now the gold and dollar reserves are afflicted with galloping consumption, and are disappearing like dew before the sun. But so far from allowing any relaxation in the arms drive, the Americans are pressing for still greater efforts by the West European countries, including Britain. This was their main theme at the Atlantic Pact Conference at Rome in November.

It is not only the economic effects of rearmament which are causing concern. Very wide circles in Britain, including many people far from sympathetic to the left, are increasingly worried by the danger that the United States may precipitate a war. Churchill admitted during the General Election that it might be an American finger which would pull the trigger of a third world war. He also stated when he spoke at Plymouth in October, 1951:

> There is one particular instance to which I must draw your attention. Mr. Attlee's Government agreed to the establishment of an enormous American air base in our Eastern counties, which could have no other

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purpose than to bring home the threat of atomic war as a deterrent to Russian aggression.

Again we supported them. I must say, however, that no more formidable step had been taken in time of peace by any Government that I can remember, nor one that would be more certain to put us in the front line should war come.

He returned to the same theme in his Guildhall speech after the Election. Now these speeches of Churchill may be designed to help him in striking a bargain with the Americans to get more dollars, but they also bring home to millions in Britain just how critical is the situation in which Churchill's Fulton policy has placed us. This is what led Raymond Daniell of the *New York Times* to write from London on November 21:

The fear that Britain might be plunged into war against her will by some action of the United States or the Soviet Union against each other, dominates the thinking of a large part of the British population, especially in the Labour Party, and is having a deep effect upon Anglo-American relations.

When the American paper, the *Christian Science Monitor,* tells us that Eisenhower told President Truman early in November that ' the essential military decision is for the United States and its allies to act as if war were inevitable in 1952 ', this also arouses the gravest misgivings about American policy amongst people who have hitherto tended to accept Acheson's and Truman's phrases about peace at their face value.

In contrast to the increasing aggressiveness and open calls to war of the American millionaires, the policy of the Soviet Union has demonstrated to millions that the Soviet people and Government are devoting every effort to preventing a Third World War.

Pursuing its policy of peace, the Soviet Union fought a long battle in the Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies for the solution of the German problem and the establishment of a united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany. Nor will the world forget that it was Mr. Malik, on behalf of the Soviet Union, who proposed a cease-fire in Korea last June. President Shvernik's letter to President Truman in August sharply raised the question of a Five Power Pact of Peace. Stalin's statement on the Atom Bomb was a powerful blow against the atomaniacs and a call to intensify the struggle for banning of atomic weapons. And in the closing weeks of 1951 the brilliant fight of Mr. Vishinsky and the Soviet delegation in the United Nations General Assembly has been an inspiration to lovers of peace everywhere.

Uniting the world peace forces, and representing an immensely

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powerful organised movement, the World Peace Council has played a decisive role in the struggle for peace. Already nearly 600 million people have signed the Appeal for a Pact of Peace which it launched in February.

The heroic struggle of the Korean people and the Chinese Volunteers has been an inspiration to all lovers of peace and all peoples striving for their liberation. It has encouraged the Persian and Egyptian people in the fight for their just demands. It has inspired the Malayan people to continue their struggle, in spite of the use of 250,000 tons of bombs and 12,000 rockets against them, the destruction of whole villages, and the putting of tens of thousands of Malayan people into concentration camps. There is no force on earth that can hold back the struggle of people determined on winning their freedom and independence. That has been proved in Korea, where after the most terrible destruction and terror bombing and the use of every murderous device of modern war, the Americans have been forced in the end to negotiate. But this has caused millions throughout the world to say, 'Why not negotiate on all other questions before the world is plunged into the horrors of a third world war?'

These world developments have had a profound effect in Britain. Together with the fight of the Communist Party and the peace movement, they have brought about a completely new mood amongst the people as compared with only a year ago. This was reflected in the Union Conferences, in the unprecedented number of critical resolutions put down for the agenda of the Labour Party Conference and in the Trades Union Congress discussions and decisions. This deep desire for peace was also expressed in the most striking and significant fashion in the General Election campaign. Despite all the efforts of the Tory and Right Wing Labour leaders to smother the issue and confine the election campaign to shadow-boxing on minor questions, the people broke through this conspiracy of silence and forced both Tory and Labour spokesmen to protest their love for peace, even while they were actually intensifying their preparations for war.

The greatest mistake that could be made would be to underestimate the hatred of war and the readiness to fight for peace which exists amongst the vast majority of the British people.

What is now needed is the organised expression of that feeling, above all in the collection of hundreds of thousands more signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace. Those men, women and

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young people who in the past months have spent so much of their lives on the doorsteps and in the factories collecting signatures can be proud of the effects which their work has had. It was all a hundred times worth while, and those who participated will be honoured long after the war-crazy leaders of the degenerate and dying capitalist world are forgotten. But those who are planning war have not given up their criminal attempts. On the contrary, they are speeding up their preparations and at the same time engaging in new manœuvres to deceive and confuse the people. That is why 1952 should see a great response in Britain to the call made in November by the World Peace Council to intensify the collection of signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace.

The policy of the Tory Government, carrying forward that of the Labour Government, has already proved itself to be a menace to the lives and conditions of the working people. A great united effort by the members of the Labour Movement can get this Government out in a very short time, and bring about a complete change in policy. This is what the workers in factory, pit and street want. This is what the interests of Britain demand. But such a fight will never be led and organised by the Right Wing Labour leaders whose policy made possible the Tory victory, and who now endorse every major step it takes towards war. If anyone doubts this, let them read what the Labour leaders have said since the election:

> It is our long-standing practice to work amicably with whatever Government is in power. (T.U.C. General Council, October 31.)
>
> The opposition will be vigilant, but not factious.
>
> (Mr. Attlee, November 6.)
>
> We on this side fully appreciate the gravity of the situation, and we fully accept that it must be dealt with urgently. Whatever Government was returned would have had to take drastic action quickly.
>
> (Mr. Gaitskell on Butler's speech, November 7.)
>
> I do not think that in the statements which he has made there will be much quarrel. . . . As far as I can see the policy which we pursued is substantially being carried on and I do not think there is any material departure. (Mr. Morrison on Eden's speech, November 19.)

Such statements as these are an insult to the self-sacrifice and hard work of the rank and file of the Labour movement—members of the Labour Party, trade unionists and co-operators, and workers in the factories—who put everything they had into the fight to defeat the Tories, and now find that their leaders are co-operating with the Government in carrying through its policy.

But just as united action in the election transformed the elec-

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tion campaign, put the Tories on the defensive and reduced their majority far below what they expected, so united action now can smash their plans for war and sweep them out of office. Not a single action of the Government should go unchallenged by the Labour Movement, whether it is in connection with rearmament, a further surrender to America of Britain's independence in exchange for dollars, action against the Egyptian people, intensification of the war in Malaya, delay in bringing the Korean war to a complete and final end, attacks on the social services, the continued rise in prices and profits, or attacks on civil liberties—on each and every one of these questions the working people should unite their forces and fight the Tory Government. The stand made by the 33 Labour M.P.s against the Japanese Peace Treaty and the courageous fight of men like Sidney Silverman against the Home Guard proposals are greeted with enthusiasm in the workshops, because they represent the kind of fight against the Tories which the workers want to see carried forward. And it is necessary to say that if those Labour M.P.s who abstained on the Japansese Treaty, estimated at nearly 100, had voted against it, no Government would have dared to push it through in face of such opposition. It is time for an end to be put to the position where careerists, place-seekers and opportunists of every kind find the path to high office in the Labour Movement made easy for them, while every type of obstacle, ban and proscription is used to exclude those who are leading the fight for peace and the defence of the workers' standards.

Members of the Labour Party and trade unionists who are deeply disturbed by the present leadership, and who have experienced the splendid result achieved in workers' wage struggles and in the General Election through united action, appreciate how much it would strengthen the whole Labour Movement if all who pay the political levy were eligible to be put forward on the Parliamentary panels of the trade unions. The trade unions, who are the main support of the Labour Party, have the right and the duty to put forward their best representatives, who enjoy the trust and confidence of their members because of the work they have done for them, whether it is a question of representation to local Labour Parties, at Labour Party Conferences, or as Labour Party candidates.

It is also vital to strengthen international trade union unity at this critical moment for the workers in every land. It seems

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strange when such serious dangers and problems face the working people, that almost at the same time there should have been separate meetings of the General Councils of the World Federation of Trade Unions and of the International Confederation of the Free Trade Unions taking place. The W.F.T.U. had earlier proposed united action with the I.C.F.T.U. which was turned down by the Right Wing Trade Union leaders. But they do not speak the last word. It is for the organised workers themselves to decide the final outcome of this fight for international trade union unity. The British trade unionists have an enormous part to play in helping to bring it about. For no trade unionists in this world are going to require international assistance and solidarity more than those in Britain, both in forging their way along the path of social advance, and in helping to preserve the peace of the world.

If national and international working class unity in action was achieved, it would not only mean that the Labour Movement was strengthened for the battles immediately ahead, but that the basis would be laid for putting an end to capitalism and going forward along the road to Socialism. The publication of *The British Road to Socialism* in 1951 was one of the landmarks of British political history. At a time when great numbers of industrial and agricultural workers, professional and intellectual workers and other sections of the community are asking fundamental questions about the cause of Britain's difficulties and how they can be overcome, it shows clearly and concretely the way forward. In 1952 it is more important than ever to explain and win support for the policy outlined in *The British Road to Socialism,* and, above all, to begin the building of the broad, popular alliance which, in the words of our programme, is 'the essential condition' for establishing People's power in Britain.

The capitalist world enters 1952 with a perspective of increasing poverty for the working people, intensified war preparations, and growing contradictions. The countries where the working people are in power look forward, with a confidence based on their mighty past achievements, to great, new victories in the cause of peace and construction. We are confident that the British people will reject the shameful role assigned to them by the American imperialists and their Tory and Right Wing Labour agents in Britain, and will ensure by their struggle that Britain takes the path of peace, national independence, and social advance.

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WAR MOVES OVER THE MIDDLE EAST

CLEMENS DUTT

THE ill-defined region which stretches from the Greek end of the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and is now usually called the Middle East, rather than the Near East, has recently come to occupy the forefront of attention in the international situation. The Middle East, no less than the Far East, has become a key battleground in the world-wide struggle between the democratic forces of the people and the forces operating to preserve the existing system of imperialist domination and exploitation.

The present importance of this region arises, however, particularly because this struggle has flared up just at a time when the Middle East has become a vital area for the aggressive war plans of Anglo-American imperialism and the States subsidiary to it. The two phenomena are, of course, closely inter-related. The Middle East has more than half the world's oil resources. It is an area of foreign capitalist exploitation in which the American monopolies are playing an ever-increasing role.

The war plans of imperialism envisage measures intended in the name of security to hold in check, and if necessary to suppress by force, the national liberation movements for the overthrow of foreign domination and exploitation. But the so-called 'global strategy' of the 'free world' goes further and comprises in essence thinly-veiled preparations for an offensive war to win back for capitalism the countries advancing to Socialism and even in some ambitions to destroy the citadel of Socialism itself, the U.S.S.R.

By naked force in the case of Greece, and by military and economic pressure in the case of Turkey, these two countries have been won for the planned ring of anti-Soviet States on the southern borders of the U.S.S.R., and accordingly have been admitted into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.), in open mockery of the latter's ostensible character as a defensive grouping of Atlantic countries. Turkey is strategically situated in relation to both the U.S.S.R. and the Arab States of the Middle East. Hence the endeavour to use Turkey as one of the bases in extending the Atlantic Alliance by setting up under Anglo-American leadership a regional grouping of Middle Eastern States

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capable of attacking the vital areas in the south of the U.S.S.R. Of course, this is being done in the name of 'defence'.

British imperialism has always justified its domination in the Middle East on the ground of the vital strategic and economic interests of the British Empire. Now U.S. imperialism has not only penetrated this former British preserve to such an extent that it can adopt the same argument of the need to safeguard its own economic interests there, but it puts forward on its own behalf the same argument of vital strategic interests. This can be seen, for example, from the U.S. State Department's Mutual Security Programme for 1952, submitted to Congress for approval. This says:

> The Near Eastern area is important to the security of the United States and of the free world. It lies athwart the principal lines of sea and air communications in the eastern hemisphere. It is a land bridge between Asia and Africa, Soviet control of which would expose the African continent. It is the source of a prime strategic material, oil, the continuing supply of which is essential to friendly nations in Europe and Asia. It supplies three-fourths of the petroleum requirements of Western Europe.

Commenting on this, the *Economist* (August 4, 1951) remarked that it could be added, but is not added in the official document, that:

> If Soviet expansion is to be arrested, the Middle East is important also because it is the site of bases (British in Egypt, Jordan and Iraq, and American in Saudi Arabia) which cause the Soviet Union to reflect that the Caucasus is its soft underbelly.

This is, in effect a striking admission of the considerations underlying the building up of a 'striking force' in the Middle East. Just as the favourite dream of the anti-Soviet war maniacs in 1918 and 1919, and again in the 'switch the war' propaganda of 1940-41, was to strike at the U.S.S.R. through the Baku oil-fields, so once again the thoughts of the anti-Soviet warmongers are centred on launching a blow at the Soviet Union through what they hope to be the latter's 'soft underbelly'.

Following the Ottawa Conference of the Atlantic Pact countries, the United States initiative for extending this Pact by a Middle East regional Pact came to fruition in the invitation made to Egypt on October 13 to become a partner in a joint Middle East 'defence organisation' along with the U.S.A., Britain, France and Turkey, an invitation extended jointly by these Powers. An 'Allied Middle East Command' on which these five countries would be represented was proposed, and the inducement was held out to Egypt that British troops would then be withdrawn from

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the Suez Canal Zone, except for those authorised by the Middle East Command to remain as part of an international garrison.

The lure was not very strong and indeed the moment chosen was hardly auspicious. The unprecedented upsurge of the Egyptian mass movement for national liberation and popular sovereignty, had just compelled the Egyptian Government to announce the abrogation of the 1936 Treaty with Britain and to demand the removal of foreign troops from the Suez Canal. To answer this demand by proposing that the British war bases should be exchanged for American-dominated ones could only be regarded as more of a threat than a promise. To the Egyptians it looked as if casting out the foreign devil by this means would only involve his return with others worse than himself. Particularly cynical was the proposal that Turkey, the historic oppressor of the Arab peoples, should be a partner in the new foreign military occupation of the Arab countries. Further, the immediate support for the plans expressed by Canada, Australia and New Zealand, whose participation in the command has only been deferred as inexpedient at present, indicated that the term 'Middle East Defence' was as much a camouflage as the term 'Atlantic Defence'. In vain was it stressed, as *The Times* put it, that the proposals 'express a revolution in the diplomatic and strategic thinking of many powerful States' and, in particular, that 'Britain, which has been the chief guardian of Suez and the bridge between Asia and Africa, recognises the shifts in the balance of world power and is now ready to share the guardianship with others'. The essential feature in Egyptian eyes could only be that the country would remain under foreign occupation while Egypt would be compelled to give all assistance to imperialist preparations for a future war. The annexe to the proposal put the matter bluntly:

> 1. Egypt will agree to furnish to A.M.E.C. (Allied Middle East Command) such facilities on her soil as are indispensable for the organisation in peacetime of Middle East defence;
>
> 2. She will undertake to grant the forces of the A.M.E.C. all necessary facilities and assistance in the event of war, imminent menace of war, or apprehended international emergency, including the use of Egyptian ports, airfields and means of communication.

Consequently it is not surprising that the proposals were indignantly rejected by the Egyptian Government. The clumsy pretence of Egyptian 'equal partnership' was too threadbare. It was too evident that military control would rest in the hands of

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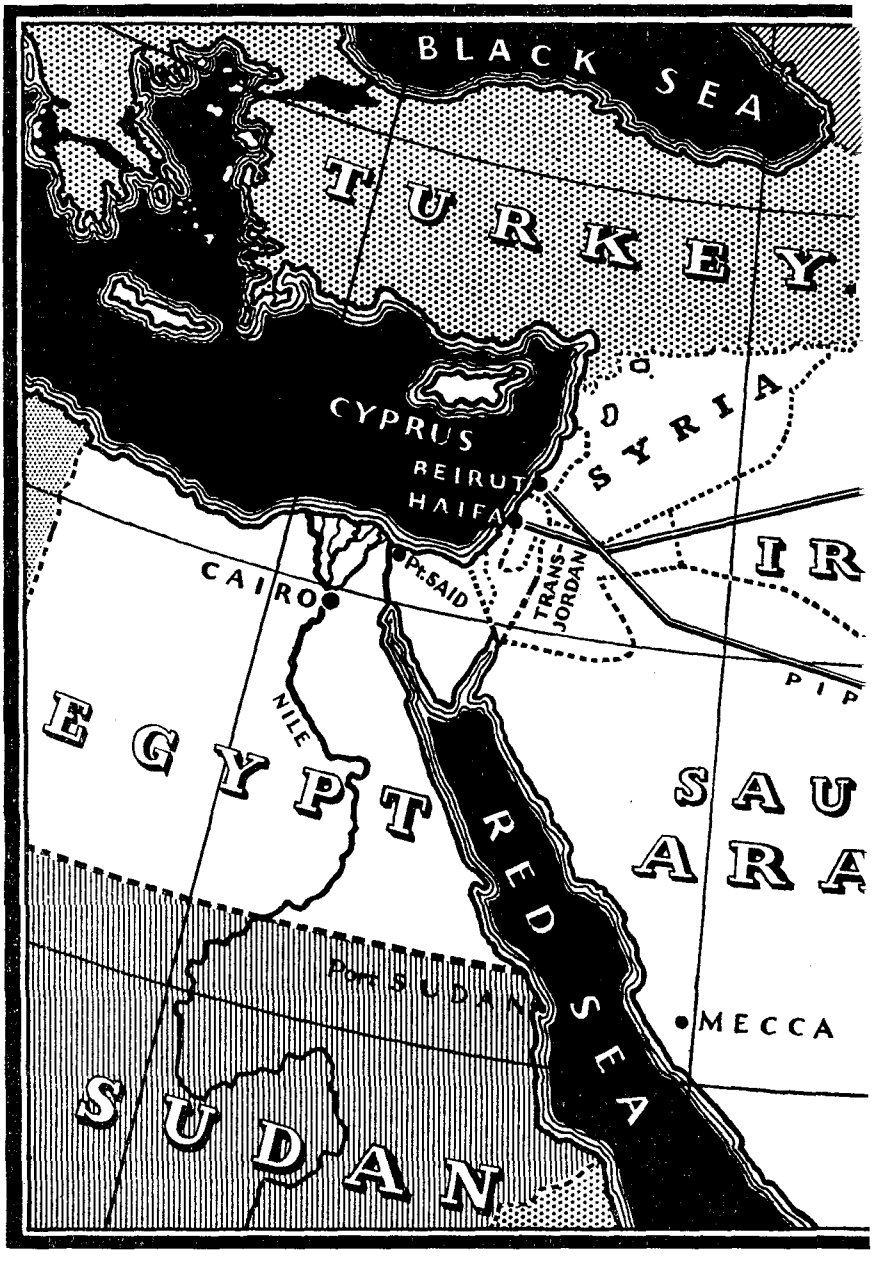

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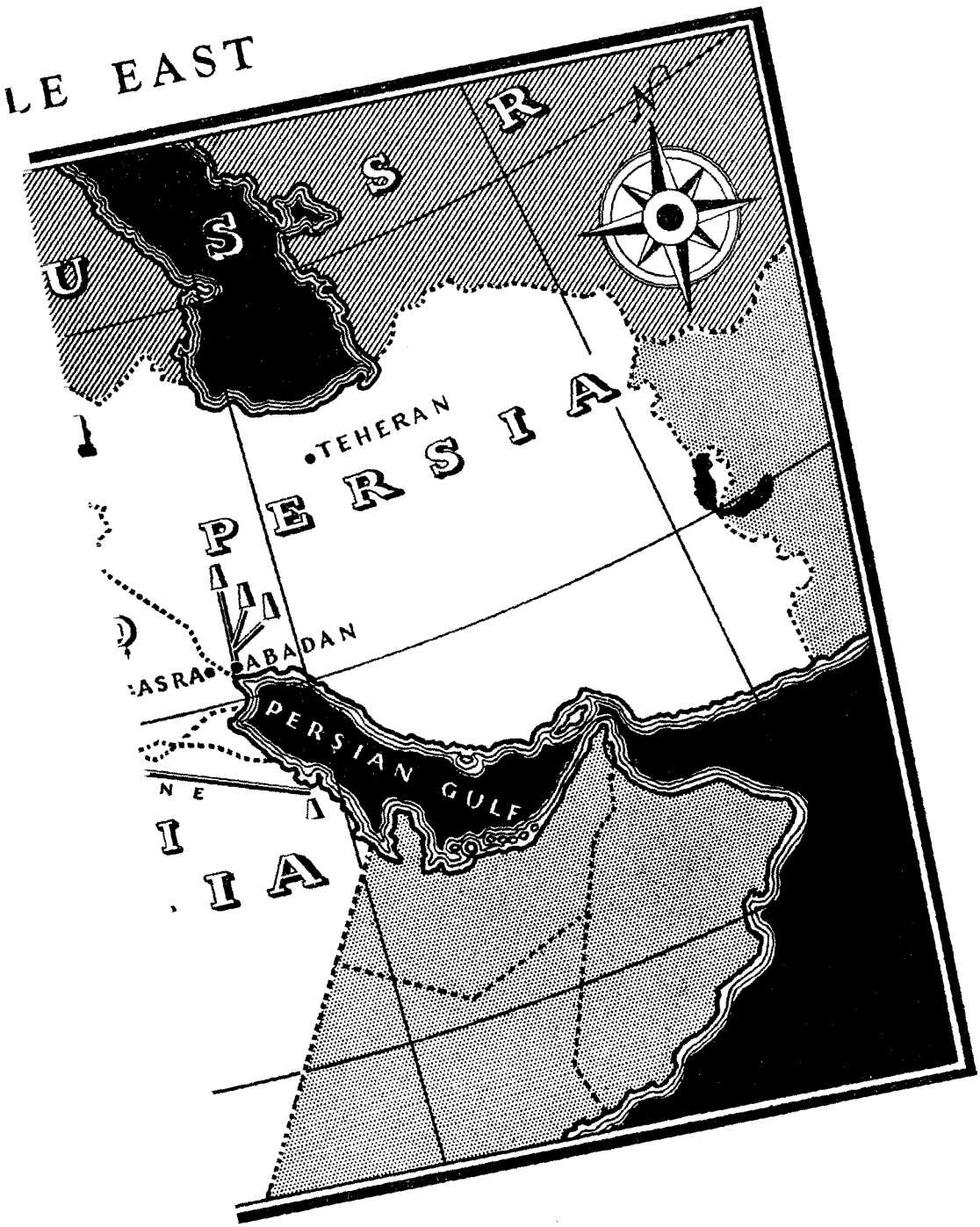

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the U.S.A. and Britain and that any Egyptian forces would play as subordinate a role as the armies of the smaller European States do in N.A.T.O.

The situation in Egypt became more and more tense, and British troops were poured into the country in an inflammable situation. A new version of the plan was worked out behind the scenes and put forward in a Four-Power statement on November 10. It contained a slight change of tone but not of substance. The effort was made to give an assurance that Egyptian internal sovereignty would not be impaired, specifying for instance:

> The Middle East Command . . . will not interfere in problems and disputes arising within the area. Movement of these troops placed under the Supreme Allied Commander Middle East's Command to or within the territories of the States joining in the defence of the Middle East will be made only with the agreement of the State or States concerned and in full accord with their national independence and sovereignty.
>
> Any facilities granted to the Middle East Command by States joining in the defence of the Middle East will be the subject of specific agreements.

The explanations only confirm the essence of the plan as one for the continuation and expansion of foreign occupation. The Egyptian Prime Minister denounced the plan as 'worse than colonialism', as a plan for furthering the ambitions of 'greedy Great Powers at the expense of smaller nations'. The head of the Syrian delegation to the United Nations in Paris said that it was an interference in the sovereign rights of the Arab States.

Nevertheless, under American direction, the plan is being pushed forward and every form of pressure is being exercised to secure support from the other Arab States. Imperialism relies on its protégés among the rulers and on the corrupt bourgeois politicians who would be swept aside if the movement for national freedom triumphed. The bait is held out to the Arab States that they will receive arms from the U.S.A. and help in the development of their armed forces if they participate, which would otherwise be refused. The Arab-Israel conflict is being played upon, since Israel's support is expected owing to its being more directly under American control. The *Daily Telegraph* voices the threat that in case of refusal by Egypt the Western powers will make Israel a central part of the defence scheme and that it will thus become more powerful than the Arab states. Above all, the 'menace of Communism' is increasingly used as a means to scare the bourgeois political leaders in the Arab countries.

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So far all this has had no effect. The Communist bogey is regarded in Egypt as a 'fabricated nightmare'. But whatever the outcome it is clear that a new stage has been reached in the Middle East in which the dominant role is played by the U.S.A., which is seeking not only to oust Britain as the chief exploiter of the Arab peoples, but to secure its own military and political domination in this region. As the *Observer* remarked (October 28): 'We have to accept the climate made in the U.S.A.', and Mr. Churchill has been taken to task for his unqualified admission, in his Guildhall speech, that 'the Americans have risen to leadership of the world'. The Anglo-American rivalry goes forward in the new stage although it is now recognised that the British role is subordinate to that of the U.S.A.

Britain has shown a 'firm hand' in Egypt, relying on U.S. support. But the U.S.A. is not primarily interested in the protection of British interests. The *Economist* (September 1) commented 'Visiting American dignitaries in Cairo, as in Teheran, have left the impression that they will be glad to see the British removed'. In the Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons on November 20, Mr. S. N. Evans (Labour) pointed out that there seemed to be two American influences at work. 'One seems anxious to put us back on our feet, and the other to do just the opposite.' The enormous augmentation of British troops in Egypt must be viewed also in this light. Not only do they far exceed the limits permitted by the 1936 Treaty but they far exceed any possible requirements for suppression of civil disorder in Egypt. One reason is given by the Egyptian correspondent of the *Sunday Times* (November 18), who says that it 'constitutes an effective British claim for playing a major part in the development of plans for a joint Middle East Command'. The Anglo-American struggle for control of material resources and strategic positions extends even to the Sudan. Despite the Condominium agreement for joint British-Egyptian rule, Britain has treated the Sudan as its colony and covers its imperialist exploitation by claiming that it must protect the Sudanese people whom it is leading towards independence. But the Sudanese are biting their protector's hand and even the pro-British party in the Sudan is now telling the British to get out. The fact that Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who enjoys favour with the Americans, is sponsoring the idea of a Sudan plebiscite in the near future after both Egyptian and British troops have been withdrawn, suggests that the U.S.A. sees here a method of putting pressure on Britain.

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Under American leadership, the so-called Western world is rushing headlong towards war. Nor is there any doubt as to what war is intended. The *Manchester Guardian,* in an editorial on the revised Middle East 'defence plan' (November 12) tells the Arab States: 'The great question . . . is whether they wish, in the event of war, to be counted among the allies of the Western democracies against Russian imperialism.' No talk here even of the invasion bogey. They are to be dragged into a war which will be decided on elsewhere, in which they will have no say and in which they will be used as tools.

The Soviet Government in its Notes of November 21 and 24 gives serious warning of the consequences of the steps that are being undertaken. It makes clear that the plans for a Middle East Command have nothing in common with the interests of safeguarding peace and security in the Middle East, nor with the genuine national interests of the states in this region. Their operation would mean the loss of the independence and sovereignty of the Middle Eastern countries and would damage the relations existing between the U.S.S.R. and these countries.

The Arab peoples do not want their countries to be converted into a battlefield. The national liberation struggle is embracing ever wider sections of the people, who know from their own experience that subjection to foreign imperialism means their exploitation and impoverishment and their use as cannon fodder. Hence the growing mass movement in Egypt, Iran and other countries of the Middle East has a significance far greater than that of a domestic movement for national liberation. A resolution of the World Peace Council has emphasised the importance to the cause of world peace of this resistance to the imposition of imperialist bases and foreign troops in the Middle East. In the present circumstances this movement takes its place as an integral part of the fight for world peace, as a contribution to the cause of the millions of ordinary people all over the world who are seeking to bridle the warmongers and prevent them from launching a third world war.

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TRADE UNIONS—ALERT

WILLIAM PEARSON

MANY workers are discussing the attitude of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress about co-operation with the present Tory Government. The working class must consider where such a policy will take them and its effect on their wages and conditions. Unless this is done disaster faces the working class, for as sure as night follows day conditions will become intolerable. The Tory Government by no stretch of imagination can be regarded as a friend of the workers. It represents the ruling class who own and control the land and industries of this country and whose only purpose is to draw rent, interest and profit from the labour of the working class. The return of a Tory Government therefore can only mean one thing—an attack on the conditions of the workers unless the power of the trade union and working-class movement is used to prevent it. To co-operate with such a government would only strengthen capitalism at the expense of the workers. They will not be so foolish in the present situation as to make an immediate direct attack on wages, for such a policy would rouse the whole movement against them. They will attack conditions more cunningly than that, by increased food prices, higher rents, etc., and hope by these means to delude the people.

The proper function of the Trade Unions no matter what government is in power is to protect and improve the conditions of their members, whether the T.U.C. General Council desire it or not. This has been clearly demonstrated within recent years despite the efforts of the General Council to carry out a policy of wage restraint. Many unions fought for increased wages even when their leaders were members of the General Council or on the Labour Party Executive Committee and committed to a contrary policy.

Co-operation with the capitalist class is no new thing in this country, for I would remind readers of the Mond-Turner policy nearly a quarter of a century ago which had such disastrous results for the workers, and we must do all in our power to prevent such a policy operating in the trade union movement again. What does co-operation with the Tory Government mean? It means co-operation in industry for increased production, and

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this can only result under a capitalist system, not in improved conditions for the workers but in increased profits for the employers. Only under a Socialist system will increased production improve the standard of living of the people. When I was listening to Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, M.P., then Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking at the Blackpool T.U.C. last September, I was amazed to hear him put forward the old Mond-Turner policy that the evils of capitalism could be cured by the distribution of 'bonus shares' to the workers. Mr. Gaitskell submitted the idea of 'Partners in Industry' as if it were brand new and brilliant. What utter bankruptcy in policy for anyone to advocate this and at the same time claim to be a Socialist of twenty-five years' standing! This bonus-sharing idea is like asking a dog to bite its own tail off, and yet such nonsense is advocated in the name of Socialism. Mr. Gaitskell also admitted there was little cake to cut and what there was was pledged to rearmament. The terrible feature of this is that it is only too true. No country can pour millions of pounds into a rearmament programme and at the same time improve the standard of living. You cannot have guns and butter at the same time; Hitler demonstrated this fact clearly.

The trade union movement must therefore get down to its real task of improving the standard of living of the people, and to do this the policy of rearmament must be fought and at the same time prevent a third world war. The entire trade union movement should unite, as they did against wage restraint, to defeat such a policy of co-operation with the Tory Government. To work with a Tory Government is a very backward step indeed; their past history ought to be enough to drown the very idea.

There are already definite signs that many trade unions will carry on the struggle to improve their members' position. The engineers, firemen, railway workers and the miners are among the unions who have already taken steps, and have in fact gained increased wages. As for the miners, they also gained a two-week holiday with pay agreement in place of the present one week. They have also a pension scheme for miners coming into operation on January 1, 1952, a scheme which, in spite of weaknesses that will require to be removed, has been won for the first time in the history of the industry. Such concessions have only been gained as a result of determined action by the trade unions and not as a result of goodwill on the part of the employers. Let no one be under any impression that these concessions mean the end

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of the struggle to improve conditions in the mining industry; the process will go on until satisfaction is gained in many outstanding grievances that still exist. All is not well within the mining industry; the slow rate of recruitment clearly shows this. No longer can they depend on British labour coming into the pits, and that is the reason why Poles, Displaced Persons and now Italians are being recruited for the pits. Such measures will never solve the coal crisis in this country and 1952 will see a very difficult coal situation unless the policy of rearmament is changed. In 1952 this country will again import coal from abroad at a loss of three or four pounds per ton. That is the prospect facing us—why? For the simple reason that coal is being used in the making of armaments that ought to be used to improve the conditions of the people. As long as this policy is continued it will mean that the mining industry will carry a great financial loss and as a result of less exports of coal less food will enter this country. These are the realities of the situation and the sooner the position is faced up to the better it will be for the workers.

However, Mr. Tom Williamson, a member of the General Council of the T.U.C. and secretary of a powerful union, is annoyed at the very thought of the workers using their power and influence against the policy of the Tory Government; he is shocked at the very idea. To try and justify his attitude he talks about 'Tolerance, Democracy etc.', and he lays it down that to oppose the government is to challenge democracy. What utter nonsense for any responsible leader of the trade union movement to put forward! True, the General Council will require to meet government departments from time to time to discuss and protect their members' interests: but this in no way means working amicably with the government. Mr. Williamson talks about opposition to the Tory Government as 'dangerous talk'. I think Mr. Williamson's attitude is dangerous to the conditions of the workers, for in reality it means worsened conditions. He will never bluff the workers that it will be otherwise, for the workers hate the very idea of a Tory Government.

If any further proof were required that co-operation with the Tory Government would be a disaster for the workers, they only require to examine the statement made by Victor Feathers, assistant secretary of the T.U.C., made at Worthing, Sussex:

> The announcement of higher food prices has shocked some people, but bigger shocks are on the way. Farm prices will be reviewed again next February. They will go up again. It is clear that there will be

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steeply rising prices for the next 12 months at least. There will be less overtime earnings in some industries and short-time working in others. (December 1, 1951.)

Mr. Feathers was not speaking for himself, he was speaking for the General Council that has proposed working amicably with the Tories. The price of coal will be increased to the people while we continue to pay interim interest of £15 millions a year to the ex-coalowners who were all Tories. It is sheer madness to even dream of accepting such a policy. To do so would be a betrayal of all our movement has stood for in the past.

The need is not only for the utmost unity within the trade union movement, but also the necessity for international trade union unity must be evident to all if we are to avert a third world war. The World Federation of Trade Unions is calling for that unity and we should urge the T.U.C. to meet this call by having a joint meeting to discuss any differences that may exist. We dare not allow any reactionary forces in this country or America to prevent a meeting, when so much depends on international trade union unity. No one can divorce the present situation in this country from the international situation, and the healing of any breach that may exist can do a great deal of good, and I earnestly plead with the trade unionists in this country to do all in their power to bring about a joint meeting of the two international trade union bodies.

A Tory Government not only means a lower standard of living, it increases the danger of war. The domination of American imperialism in this country is increasing; trade between East and West requires to be developed or our food situation will become severe. The treaty with Japan will have adverse effects on the textile industry of this country and also the pottery industry. With these facts in mind the trade unionists must make up their minds that opposition to the Tory policy is essential. This is where they must throw their weight within the Labour Party, whose policy should carry out the needs and desires of trade unionists. The policy of the Labour Party should be an anti-Tory policy, not as is already suggested, a policy of co-operation with the Tories and with capitalism.

Readers in the areas of Brixton and Forest Hill (London) and Horsham (Sussex) who would like to join LABOUR MONTHLY *Discussion Groups, please write for details.*

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THE WAR IN MALAYA

R. PAGE ARNOT

HOW long is this shameful war in Malaya to go on? It has already lasted three and a half years, from June, 1948, when the Emergency was proclaimed, to the end of 1951. Despite the measures of military terror, the building up of a police state, the flooding of the countryside with troops,* all the efforts at suppression have been baffled by the Malay People's Liberation Forces. Imperialists are ruefully admitting that the situation is even more difficult for them that it was earlier. After three and a half years of this war, the Malay People's Army emerges stronger. It is high time this shameful war was brought to an end, an agreement reached, and the troops withdrawn.

Just 30 years ago in Ireland they began 'to stamp out' a people's struggle for liberation. They hurled in troops and police and enrolled the infamous Black-and-Tans. It began in 1918. Every few months the Lloyd George-Churchill Government announced that a short while would see the end of the liberation forces, whom they sedulously described as terrorists, bandits, gunmen. They removed populations, burned down villages and cities, filled town and countryside with their secret police, sent their hired bravoes careering down the streets of Dublin flourishing and firing pistols. The Labour Party protested. Arthur Greenwood headed a deputation to Ireland, which bore witness against the barbarity there of the Lloyd George-Churchill Cabinet. The trade unions protested. The organised workers were against their sons being sent to do the dirty work of suppressing the aspirations of the Irish people. All the more the Government brazenly announced that there would be no compromise with 'murder'. We are taking murder by the throat', shouted Lloyd George.

But it was only a matter of months afterwards that Lloyd George and Churchill were taking de Valera's representatives by the hand, negotiating with them, putting forward a draft treaty which, although typical Lloyd George trickery which led to the partition of Ireland, nevertheless led also to the withdrawal of the British troops from the 26 counties. Lloyd George and Churchill's war in Ireland had brought to the British people and

* 'More than 100,000 men employed in a most costly manner'—Churchill in Parliament, December 6, 1951.

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the people of Ireland death, devastation and squandered resources. And this was the end of it, a war that should never have been begun.

The same things have been happening in Malaya, just 30 years later. Now once again Churchill is in it, this time in supreme charge. Dyak head-hunters, savages from Borneo, take the place of Black-and-Tans. Once again blood and treasure is being poured out in the attempt to suppress a people's army—and poured out in vain! It is high time to put an end to it, to a war that should never have been begun.

The population of Ireland is nearly 5,000,000: of Malaya, nearly 6,000,000. In each case they have their towns and villages, where a peasantry toils to gain a livelihood, just as the Irish peasants toiled. In each case an alien Government had used all the force at its disposal to destroy a movement of a people struggling to be free. What is the difference between the two, between 30 years ago and now? Is it that Ireland was the oldest British colony, Malaya almost the youngest? No, the big difference is that the British Government then was backing the absentee Irish landlords, while in Malaya they are upholding the interests of the tin-masters and rubber-planters.

Rubber and tin, with fabulous profits and swollen dividends wrung out of the labouring population—these are the interests of British imperialism in Malaya, these are the objects of this war. The vast rubber plantations cover three-quarters of the cultivated area of a country the size of England: and of the rubber estates, the vast majority are held by British companies. These companies are doing well out of the war. According to the *Financial Times* of June 19, 1951, 154 rubber companies had made a profit of over 11½ million pounds as compared with less than three and half millions in the previous year. It is much the same with tin, where profits have in many cases jumped upwards in the course of the Malayan war. 'Some of the dividend increases are phenomenal', wrote the *Daily Herald* City correspondent (in March, 1950), who went on to give examples where dividends had doubled, or trebled, or quadrupled in one year and ended by quoting a dividend of 200 per cent plus a bonus of 100 per cent. Well might *The Times*, in its colonial supplement last month, begin with a reference to 'the rubber and tin boom' in Malaya, which 'has brought a rather breathless prosperity'. Malaya, while the war is going on, has clearly become a paradise for the 'get-

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rich-quick'. They get the profits. The British workers get—the cost of maintaining the troops to collect the profits.

The imperialists gloat over these super-profits as 'dollar earners'. Sir Arthur Salter, Minister of Economic Affairs, 18 months ago hailed the 'great dollar earnings from Malaya (approximately equal to all our direct dollar earnings from the United Kingdom)' as the greatest help to 'our balance of payments'. Right-wing Labour leaders, too, have argued that since the whole sterling bloc has been to such an extent built up on the sale of rubber and tin at inflated prices to the U.S.A., that the war in Malaya is necessary: and justifiable on this ground of 'dollar-earning'. What an appalling imperialist argument to be sent the rounds of the Labour movement. From a working-class standpoint it is inconceivable to declare that the financial crisis and the balance of payments should be 'solved' by ruthless colonial exploitation. And in any case this supposed 'foundation' of the sterling bloc is crumbling and rotten.

Can anyone in their senses imagine (except those whose ears and eyes and nostrils are stuffed with the clink and sight and smell of dollars) that a people will tolerate this economic stranglehold on their country's resources, plus the domination by an alien minority, plus the police state with its unbridled repression and savage penalties meted out for breach of the never-ending stream of ruthless regulations (e.g. Wong Kwang, accused of having given 'five dollars to the terrorists'—executed) or the transportations, burning down of villages, concentration camps*, etc., etc. Can anyone seriously think that those of the Malay People's Liberation Army who fought the Japanese to a standstill when the 'pack of whisky-swilling planters and military birds of passage' had scuttled (remember the *Daily Express* correspondent's phrase of January 15, 1942, 10 years ago, at the fall of Singapore?) are now going to eat humble pie when the greedy pack return with all the King's horses and all the King's men at their back? No, the morale of the Liberation Army is high, and strong in the knowledge that it is fighting a just war for national emancipation. The same cannot be said of the imperialist forces, who are either mercenaries sharked up from all over the South Seas, or young conscripts with no idea of the kind of war they have been sent to fight.

*The Colonial Annual Report for 1948 records that the Pulau Jerejak 'camp' was 'first used on October 20, after some delay due to a shortage of barbed wire'.

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The greatest single factor in the success of the Liberation Army is the unity and support of the people. Workers, peasants, students and intellectuals—representing the main nationalities of the mixed population—have learnt from the experience of the past years to strengthen their unity and to co-ordinate their efforts for the common aim of overthowing imperialism. The consolidation of this unity into a powerful anti-imperialist united front of the people has laid the foundation for successful guerilla warfare. Conversely, it has deprived the imperialists of a working basis for sustained and successful war.

Indeed the imperialist forces and their leaders in the Federal War Council can look back on a succession of ignominious failures in these three and a half years. This is seen in their hysterical reports. Never have I read such hysterical propaganda in Colonial Office Reports as that which shrieks from the series on Malaya for 1948, 1949 and 1950, as though those failures 'unpack their hearts with cursing, like a drab'! After talk in the first two of these reports (e.g. 1948, 'grounds for sober confidence': 1949, 'no ground for the slightest tinge of complacency') the cat is let out of the bag with the statement 'the situation at the beginning of 1950 had deteriorated as compared with six months earlier'. Ruefully they note the tendency, particularly in the towns, 'for the general public of all races' to look upon the war as 'a matter solely for Government and the Security Forces'. (How that recalls the Ireland of 1920!) Then came the 'war of attrition' with the 'Briggs Plan' featured as the measure that was bound to win. This 'plan' in part was to uproot the countryside population in scores of thousands and then in hundreds of thousands, while their villages were destroyed in order to isolate and starve out the guerilla fighters, while all male civilians between the ages of 22 and 40 were to be recruited. (Emergency Regulation 17 provides penalties for any failure of *any* person to comply with a direction, but according to the Report stipulates that 'only males between 17 and 45 to be required to perform military or police service'. That Regulation seems to say that daughters may not be required to shoot their fathers but that sons may be so required under penalty for failure to do it.) In essence the Briggs Plan was a supreme test of two loyalties—loyalty to British imperialism or loyalty to the Liberation movement. The Malayan people have given their answer with unmistakable clearness. The defeat of the Briggs Plan meant that the people had rejected the imperialist regime. So the columns of *The Times* last autumn exhibited the

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dismay of the imperialists in the arguments as to whether General Briggs had or had not been given the sort of powers that were necessary, as to whether his successor, General Lockhart, should have different powers, as to whether martial law should be proclaimed, and counter arguments as to what possible difference martial law could make in a country that is ridden by the military and the police. (Again reminiscent of Ireland in 1920 !)

Then, reported only in mid-November, came the strikes for higher wages that began early in September. In Negri Sembilan alone (one of nine states or sultanates) 7,000 workers on sixteen rubber estates came out on strike. The panic of the planters is reflected in the press telegrams:

> . . . 16 estates are now idle. Some have been paralysed for more than a month and the loss in production can be assessed in tens of thousands of pounds. . . . The five Dunlop estates in the area are affected.
>
> The situation has been officially described as critical, and reinforcements have been hurried into the area. The town of Bahau has been isolated by a police cordon since Saturday, and its inhabitants are being examined by a C.I.D. team. Curfews are being enforced on the rubber estates, and any person venturing out of the labour lines is liable to be shot.

This is how they crush strikes for increased wages in Malaya. No reference to tribunals, no conciliation or arbitration machinery there. It is another kind of machinery that is brought into action ('New equipment for Malaya—641 Armoured Vehicles' ran *The Times* headlines of November 22) and different methods that are used, such as putting a price on the head of their opponents. The same correspondent the next day reports the killing of A. S. Manian, 'a well-known Indian terrorist leader', incidentally exposing the imperialist propaganda that the Chinese (in Malaya and Singapore together the largest part of the Malayan population) are alone active in opposition. He writes:

> A. S. Manian was killed in Selangor today by security forces. There was a price of $10,000 on his head.

'A price on his head'—a method of barbarism now in current use by the Government of Malaya.

But what caused the strikes for higher wages? Was it because the workers needed more wages as the railwaymen or any other trade or service in Britain need more? Put such an idea out of your mind. Learn once for all from Malaya the 'true reason' for a strike. It is the same 'true reason' that was given in British newspapers 40 years ago as an explanation that an agricultural labourer earning 12s. a week only went on strike because of

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'agitators', sometimes 'foreign agitators'. The cause, as understood by the police, runs as follows: 'Nearly 7,000 rubber workers, intimidated by Communist terrorists, have ceased work . . . the trouble began when terrorists, no more than 15 strong, distributed pamphlets threatening', etc. *(The Times,* 14.11.51), and, two days later: 'The police believe that only 15 terrorists are responsible for this economic disruption.' British trade unionists, who have themselves led strike struggles for wages, will remain unconvinced by this planter-and-police 'belief'. The whole strike struggle and the official explantion only go to show how difficult is the situation of the imperialists.

This was the situation in which the officials learned of the new star of hope, Oliver Lyttelton, a star in the West. Oliver Lyttelton, grandson of the 4th Lord Lyttelton, and linked with the Cecils and the Tennants, and with his uncle the private secretary of Gladstone, was by birth an aristocrat from ruling political circles. Those who speculated about the curious composition of the new Cabinet may have thought that here was the reason for the choice of him as Colonial Secretary. Did Mr. Churchill, reverting to a forty-five-year-old memory of when he took over work in the Colonial Office in succession to the Tory, the Hon. Alfred Lyttleton, consider his war-time colleague and say 'Let Oliver have his father's job at the Colonial Office; he may do better and he can't possibly do worse'? This hint of hereditary office-holding would be quite wrong. For Oliver Lyttelton, though he had followed the routine of the aristocracy through Eton, Cambridge and then into the Guards, had a mind above the pursuits of the country gentleman. He entered the City and soon became shaped as the typical 'big business' statesman. He made his entry into the war-time coalition as Controller of Non-ferrous Metals (tin is a non-ferrous metal), and before he was given his present post was Chairman of Associated Electrical Industries, a vast combine with over 50,000 employees. (Who said electric lamps? 'I', said the Monopolies Commission last month, 'I said electric lamps.') It seems to me his business record is the better reason for his having been chosen Colonial Secretary. For British capitalists operating in Malaya, what better man could be found than this? With what confidence the 'delegation representing Malayan interests', to quote *The Times,* met him on November 15. There were present the Rubber Growers' Association, the Malayan Chamber of Mines, the Rubber Trade Association of London, Eastern Exchange Banks Association and others.

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Colonial Secretary Lyttelton set off and duly made his first utterance on landing in the East that 'law and order' must come first. Then followed the comedy transmitted in the daily reports of press correspondents of how this high and mighty man began to get the wind up, began to make half-promises of concessions, began desperately to talk of self government for Malaya—in the future, be it understood. The tin-masters and planters didn't mind this line of talk, but what they wanted was more troops, and Lyttelton has publicly stated that it would be impossible with the situation in the Middle East to draft any more troops to Malaya. So, their great hopes in him were not to be justified. He would do what he could for them being a man after their own heart, but the fact is that British imperialism is too weak to do the job the planters want. If it could not do it in Ireland thirty years ago, so much the less can it do it now. So the war goes on as before. The slaughter goes on. The destruction continues. But all the time, for the reasons given, the Malay People's Liberation Army becomes stronger and stronger.

If there ever was a clear case where the interests of the masses of trade unionists and the common people of Britain were utterly opposed to the interests of the handful of tin-masters and rubber planters, it is this war in Malaya. Like the war in Ireland thirty years ago, it should arouse the strongest protest from every section of the Labour movement. Already some Members of Parliament are perturbed at what is happening. But the war can only be stopped if in the trade union branches and the workshops, in the local Labour Parties and Co-operative Societies, resolutions are passed, decisions taken to send deputations, and every other form of pressure brought to bear upon the Government. Such demonstrations of solidarity if carried through persistently could write finish to this war in the year 1952. . For the Malayan people have done their part in their resistance to imperialism. It is now the business of the whole Labour Movement to step forward, demand the withdrawal of troops and bring this shameful war to an end.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him, nor can he promise to enter into correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

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THROUGH ERROR TO TRUTH

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

ONE practical difficulty in the way of the struggle for peace against the war-mongering rulers of America lies in the very strength of the case. On the Baruch plan, the arms 'race' and disarmament proposals, on aggression and war propaganda, on Korea, in short, on every topic of controversy, the peace forces, if they had even half an equal chance to present their case, have such overwhelming strength that the arguments, as arguments, would be over in a month. But in practice we not only find that the rulers of America and Britain, while proclaiming their devotion to 'free expression in a free world', work overtime to prevent the case for peace getting a hearing at all; we discover also, when we do reach the masses of ordinary men and women, that they have been so poisoned by a generation of anti-Soviet propaganda that many just cannot and will not believe the truth, since it is so very different from the stories on which they have been fed!

There are considerable numbers of people who, because of these stories, are critical and suspicious of the Soviet Union. They believe in stories of 'the terror and ruthlessness of Communism', of 'censorship, thought-control and forced labour' in the U.S.S.R., of 'Soviet imperialism'. But that does not mean that their minds would not be open to a convincing case against the foreign policy of America and her satellites. While it is, of course, not possible that we should cease to expose these anti-Soviet fabrications, it is helpful that there should be sincere and influential people who, honestly believing in the basis of the American case, can yet condemn with cogent reasoning the policy based on that case, and thus by their propaganda win us allies who will fight by our sides now for peace, and later be stimulated to learn the whole truth.

Who are the people who can help us like this? They are a body of loyal and patriotic Americans, free of all suspicion of 'Red taint'; they are the American Friends Service Committee, who have prepared a pamphlet *Steps to Peace, A Quaker View of U.S. Foreign Policy,* recently published in this country by Victor Gollancz at the price of 1s. 6d. In this short book, all the anti-Soviet illusions and errors I have quoted (both verbatim and

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otherwise) at the beginning of this article, and indeed a good many more, are sincerely accepted and expressed, and then, on that footing, a very strong case is made against U.S. foreign policy as now applied not only in most of the American continent but in most of Western Europe and the British Empire as well. How, with these false premises, do the Quakers reach true conclusions of such importance and value? Their arguments are pretty clear.

They say: There are better answers to 'coercive Communism' than coercive militarism. Peace cannot be secured by accepting the doctrine of force; arms races lead to war, not to peace, and create not security but insecurity; if arms could bring security the U.S.A. should surely feel absolutely safe, but in fact she feels less secure ever since 1945 than at any time within memory. The Truman doctrine of containment, which challenges the U.S.S.R. to a test of military strength, is not a policy of peace, and in any case endangers the very freedom that it seeks (as the writers think) to defend; the basic assumption behind this policy, that 'force is the only language understood by the Communist high command', bad enough on its own merits, has now developed into 'the concept of the threat of military retaliation against Russia itself'; such a policy wins neither friendship and confidence, advances freedom and human welfare, nor brings security or peace. The dissipation of resources and manpower in more and more military commitments around the world does not help freedom, but will, on the contrary, lead inevitably to regimentation, 'pressure for conformity', government controls, and loss of individual freedom. It is a dangerous over simplification to consider every problem on the basis of anti-Communism; Communism brings reforms and hopes as well as other things, and makes a tremendous economic appeal, particularly to the peoples of Asia, to whom freedom is primarily an economic question; Communism cannot be defeated by bullets, but only by a better system. Present American policy seems more interested in military victory than in general welfare. The best that it can hope to achieve is a global stalemate of indefinite duration, and it is, in fact, pretty likely to bring about the holocaust which—as the writers think—it is designed to prevent. Meanwhile, they hold, it is losing the U.S.A. the friendship of both Asia and of Europe. (In a modest under-statement, the writers add: 'Many Europeans have . . . doubted the sincerity of our insistence that the world struggle is one between freedom and tyranny'.)

So far, and so clearly, do the Quakers see, with one eye, that

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important part of the case. And we can be very grateful for that.

With the remedies which, on that analysis, they demand, we can naturally largely agree: Negotiation, however difficult (with their initial errors they actually over-estimate the difficulties that the Soviet side may present). Disarmament and the control of arms, both atomic and other, however poor the prospects of agreement (here, too, they overrate the difficulties from the Soviet side; and they even think that the U.S. monopoly of atomic weapons, when it existed, was not merely an element favourable to security, but perhaps of 'decisive interest for preventing war'). Mutual aid to backward countries (here they do not fully see the dangers). Return of the United Nations to its true purpose of reconciliation, instead of collective military enforcement of decisions extracted by strong U.S. pressure (here they see very clearly the evil role of Washington).

What the writers fail to see is remarkable; what they do see through the fog of propaganda is equally remarkable. And the collocation of the two, the seen and the unseen, is more remarkable still. Their courage in speaking out now, in America, at the present stage of what they call 'pressure for conformity' and I call semi-Fascist, anti-Communist hysteria, brings infinite reward in its service to peace. And one feature of particular value is that their arguments, while of course deriving from the specific Quaker attitude to the use of force, are in no sense narrow or sectional. They are broad arguments which anyone who accepts their orthodox anti-Soviet views, and indeed most people who reject those views, can use without embarrassment. This demonstrates that workers for peace of the widest variety of outlook—Communists, Socialists, Liberals, Conservatives, absolute pacifists, Christians and agnostics—can all work side by side, retaining their specific view-points but all rowing strongly in the same boat down the same river of peace. That is one more happy omen.

And perhaps it is not just wishful thinking if one sees in the publication of this pamphlet, in the acquittal of Dr. Du Bois, in the remarkable Gallup Poll figures of American hostility or indifference to the Korean war, and in some recent articles in the American Press, the beginnings of a determination on the part of the American public to resist the drive to war, and of a fear among the American warmongers that real peace may yet break out.

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Book Reviews

RAGGED-TROUSERED PHILANTHROPISTS

Tressell of Mugsborough, by F. C. Ball. (224 pp. Lawrence & Wishart, *12s. 6d.* boards, *18s.* cloth.)

IN 1914 the building trades unions affiliated to the T.U.C. on a membership of 138,555. In 1950, affiliated membership of the same unions was 455,863—a three-fold increase in membership in thirty-six years. This no mean achievement can in part be attributed to a book published in 1914, entitled *The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists.*

It was put out without any flaring headlines. The reviewers scarcely noticed it, and those who did treated it as a 'curiosity'. Yet it became a best seller. For the first time in English literature the rough, calloused fist of an ordinary man burst through the sickly sentimentality of Victorian ideology. The book, in words that burnt through respectability, poverty and illiteracy, told of the boys-of-the-bulldog-breed; of no happy breed. It was the story of a socialist, an early propagandist, who took unto himself the task of explaining Marxism to his mates. The man who called himself Robert Tressell was a mystery, not only to his mates, but to all who read his book in which he expressed his noble fury at the system of savagery — capitalism — in which he lived.

Who was Tressell? It was left to a fellow townsman, F. C. Ball, to unravel the mystery. In *Tressell of Mugsborough* he sets down in plain English his adventures in so doing. It is to the credit of friend Ball that Tressell was found to be Robert Noonan, born in Dublin in 1868. But Ball has done more than discover Tressell's correct name. He has shown that Noonan was not the defeated pessimist that Jessie Pope —the person who cut and prepared the original manuscript for publication—let it be supposed. At least one-third of the original manuscript remained unpublished, and what did appear was thoroughly 'combed out'. Could a Noonan doubtful of his mission have penned the magnificent peroration, at the end of the manuscript:

> It seemed that the gathering darkness was a curtain that concealed from him the infamy existing beyond . . . That atrocious system (capitalism), which having obtained to the fullest measure detestable injustice and cruelty, was now fast crumbling into ruin.

And again, later:

> But from these ruins was surely growing the glorious fabric of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Mankind awakening from the long night of bondage and mourning, was at last looking upward to the light . . . the golden light that will be diffused throughout the world from the rays of the risen sun of Socialism.

By rescuing these sentences alone, F. C. Ball has righted a wrong and the slight to the author of the 'Ragged-Trousered' who was far from being the doubting Johnny the published book portrays. Noonan was, as Ball so rightly points out, not only an unpaid organiser of trades unionism, but one of that great band of pioneers of Socialism who are so often, as William Morris said, 'unheard and unsung'. Ball's painstaking research into Noonan's life—his travels, his constant aid to and patient work with his fellow men, his deep affection for his motherless daughter, reveal the full

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man that he actually was. Ball makes him live again in these pages. He typified all those old comrades who have by force of time been forgotten.

Books, we are told, are treasure-houses of wisdom. True, but *Tressell of Mugsborough* is something more, for it helps to destroy the myth of the working class's inability to raise itself. Their path is not one of gloomy and pessimistic struggle. Tressell was no genius despairing, but a glorious example of how each one of us in our own way can make a contribution to ending the slavery and horror of capitalism, and add brick by brick to the structure of the new world that is today growing and taking shape before us. We can all do our bit for the same goal that Noonan had in mind—the building of the good and glorious future of Socialism. My advice to all readers of the Labour Monthly who wish to assist in the fulfilment of its aims is — read *Tressell of Mugsborough* for an inspiration in a faith that will conquer, despite Yankee war menaces, and build our future.

FRANK JACKSON.

GODWIN AND OTHERS

Philosophical Foundations of English Socialism, by Adam B. Ulam. (173 pp. Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberledge. *24s.*)
William Godwin: a Study in Liberalism, by David Fleisher. (155 pp. Allen and Unwin. 12*s.* 6*d.*)
Antecedents of the International Labour Organization, by John W. Follows (234 pp. Oxford University Press. 18*s.*)

'WITH a view to clarifying the main problem of modern democratic political thought — the search for an ethical end and for the policies to implement it—Mr. Ulam explores in this book the sources, the aims, and the politics of British Socialism and of the Welfare State.' So says the Publishers' Note. Unfortunately Mr. Ulam, who is Assistant of Government and staff member of the Russian Centre in Harvard University, has a style and a method of approach which clarify very little except his own dislike of Marxism. The 'English Socialism' with which the book deals is the Attlee-Morrison brand and investigation of its philosophical foundations takes Mr. Ulam over a fairly wide field ranging from F. H. Bradley to Lord Beveridge and from T. H. Green to Keynes. Such figures as Robert Owen and William Morris get no more than a passing mention, presumably because they are innocent of any contribution to what Mr. Ulam regards as 'English Socialism'. Some pages are devoted to Marxism because, the author says, 'Marxism requires comment from anybody who tries to describe a tendency in contemporary thought'. But the 'Marxism' on which he comments was evolved, not by Karl Marx, but by Adam B. Ulam with the assistance of A. D. Lindsay. The four-page bibliography includes eight works by Bernard Bosanquet, six by L. T. Hobhouse, and none by Marx or Engels. This book cannot be recommended to a student of the philosophical foundations of British Socialism, but it is worth a glance from anyone interested in the intellectual standards of Harvard University.

It is a relief to turn from Mr. Ulam to Mr. Fleisher's book on William Godwin, the greater part of which is devoted to an exposition of Godwin's ideas as expressed in 'Political Justice', published in 1793,

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and as modified in his later works. Whatever shortcomings Godwin had as a political thinker and a man, he fought tyranny and superstition where he saw them, and fought them in relatively plain English. He did not belong to the tribe of mystifiers and intellectual smoke-generators and his work is a reminder that England, as Engels said, was the 'original home of all modern materialism'. Such a reminder is very welcome after wandering among Mr. Ulam's 'philosophical foundations'. Mr. Fleisher provides a certain amount of biographical information which is a useful corrective for those of us who have seen Godwin through the biased eyes of some of Shelley's biographers and others who have laid considerable stress on Godwin's methods of dealing with his financial difficulties—methods which led Sir Leslie Stephens to describe him, rather unjustly perhaps, as a 'venerable horseleech'.

It would be interesting to know what considerations led the author to call his book 'A Study in Liberalism'. There is, of course, a kind of no-man's land between Liberalism and anarchism, but one would have thought that Godwin came inside anarchist territory.

The least valuable section of the book is the concluding chapter which attempts to assess the value of Godwin's contribution to thought. It begins by accusing Godwin of 'an inadequate appreciation of the primal, brute forces in human nature that oppose reason'. This seems rather like a resuscitation of the doctrine of original sin. The author then goes on to praise Godwin for ideas about the 'emancipation of the individual' which have figured prominently in the anarchist armoury and have been taken over by all kinds of reactionaries in their fight against socialism.

Antecedents of the International Labour Organization is a painstaking study of the efforts to secure international labour legislation up to the 1914-8 war. Inevitably it touches at a number of points on the history of the international working-class movement, and here Mr. Follows is not an altogether reliable guide. For instance, some of the earlier steps of the Right Wing of German Social Democracy along the fatal road that led to 1933 are presented in such a way that the uninformed reader may mistake opportunism for common sense and tactical skill. Nevertheless the book, well documented, contains a considerable amount of useful information.

LON ELLIOTT.

BULWARK OF PEACE

Russia is for Peace, by D. N. Pritt, K.C. (106 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *2s. 6d.*)

WHENEVER the British people are placed in danger of war by the madness of their rulers the voice of D. N. Pritt is heard awakening them to their peril. Now, when the 'Big Lie' is the main danger to Britain's peaceful future, the author of *Light on Moscow* has again taken up his pen in a crusade for the Great Truth about the Soviet Union. Beginning with a picture of the Russian people in war-time, as described by the most respected Conservative sources when even these sources had to admit the courage and honesty of the great Soviet people, Pritt goes on to deal with the relation of people to Government in the Soviet Union, stressing their essential unity of outlook and their unani-

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mous desire for peace. He then examines and exposes various aspects of the 'Big Lie', tackling chapter by chapter the following slanders: that Russia betrayed us in 1939; that Russia prevented post-war friendship by her own behaviour; that Russia has undermined U.N.O. by misusing the veto; that Russia is 'imperialist'; that Russia is arming to the teeth; and that there is no freedom in the U.S.S.R. Most useful are the many quotations from recent American witnesses of the lack of war preparations in the Soviet Union. Nothing could be healthier for the average British reader than to read what Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times* wrote from Moscow in summer, 1950, of lower prices, no 'war hysteria', an expanding civilian building programme, and the conclusion that 'the construction programme in the summer of 1950 has been considerably larger than in any other year since the war'; or the ever-quotable remarks of the U.S. Ambassador himself, Admiral Kirk, on leaving the U.S.S.R. in December, 1950, when he, too, commented on the fact that in Moscow he saw 'none of the signs of war that experts watch for'. Is Russia preparing for war? Pritt quotes the most reputable Anglo-American sources to prove his answer 'No'. Is peace possible? Yes, says Pritt, for there are two thousand million people who want peace; we have only to stop the armaments race and shake off the American clamour for war. We, too, he concludes, can build for peace!

PAT SLOAN.

Bound volumes of Labour Monthly. For 1951 see back cover. For prices of other years, write to the Manager, 134, Ballards Lane, N.3.

EAST-WEST SPORT

East-West Sport Relations, by Ivor Montagu. (24 pp. National Peace Council, *1s.*)

IVOR MONTAGU'S pamphlet has a very special interest for sportsmen, because to my knowledge it is the first time anything like it has been attempted. It sets out to show how 'to recognise the difficulties, study them, and overcome them is the task of those who desire sport to contribute to peace'. After going through the two sections—(1) Contrasts in Sports, Practice and Principle; (2) History of Past Sport Relations and the Conclusions—I am certain this pamphlet will be a helpful contribution to the cause of Peace. Many who read it will for the first time have a clear picture of the state of relations between sport organisations on either

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side of the co-called Iron Curtain. It is most instructive about the position of a number of sports in the West on the amateur and professional aspects. The facts in respect to lawn tennis and cricket are very revealing. How many cricket fans are aware that one county club's accounts for a year showed a greater expenditure on 'expenses only' for crack amateurs than the expenses and wages for each professional? I mention this because of its relation to the controversy about whether sportsmen from the U.S.S.R. were to be considered amateurs or pros on the basis of payments made to them in the U.S.S.R.

Montagu's pamphlet is most helpful in explaining the difficulties that arise from the different history and tradition of sports in various countries. He makes some scathing references to the validity of all-white teams who claim they represent 'South Africa' for example, when everyone knows that on the basis of race discrimination every native South African is automatically barred by the all-white selections. He makes quite a number of criticisms of the Soviet Union sports authorities and writers, characterising one broadcast as containing 'many discreditable absurdities'. On two of these examples he gives on page 15 I must disagree with him. Most soccer fans were convinced when the Arsenal went outside their own staff to fetch England players into the team to play Dynamo that although they had the technical right to do it, they were in fact changing Arsenal into something getting near to an international team.

Again about the much debated game against Glasgow Rangers, I did not see it, but scores of knowledgeable football supporters who

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did, and gave me their version, wouldn't agree that the whole atmosphere and especially the attitude and actions of Rangers' players on the field could be summed up in these words, 'The Rangers, creditably anxious to break the visitors' unbeaten record, gave them a hot time. But the visitors gave back, especially in this match, as good as they got, and rather to their own surprise earned the admiration of the crowd as much for this as for their skill'.

However, these examples only show the author cannot be accused of presenting a one-sided view. That, together with his positive proposals at the end, is the great merit of this well-written pamphlet. There is no shadow of doubt that the pamphlet and particularly the 10 points in conclusion will do just what its sponsors desire. It is the duty of every sportsman, active player or fan, to not only read this pamphlet but make it known to others. If they desire peace and wonder what they can do to ensure their sport makes it's contribution they will find the answer in this pamphlet.

PETER KERRIGAN.

SHORTER NOTICE

Political Education by Michael Oakeshott. (28 pp. Bowes and Bowes. *2s. 6d.*).

THE new Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics (successor to Laski and Graham Wallas) calls himself a 'sceptic', but *The Times Literary Supplement* in a restrained editorial on this lecture more correctly calls him an uncompromising exponent of a conservative ideology.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS.

Leslie Stephen. Noel Annan. MacGibbon & Kee. 342 pp. 25s.

Salt and His Circle. Stephen Winsten. Hutchinson. 216 pp. 16s.

The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo, Vols. III and IV. Srafa and Dobb. Cambridge University Press. 422 and 438 pp. 24s. each.

Discrimination Against Coloured People. Mary Yeates. W.F.T.U. 80 pp. 1s. 6d.

Training and Promotion in Nationalised Industry. Acton Society Trust. Allen & Unwin. 136 pp. 10s. 6d.

The Challenge of Atomic Energy. E. H. Burhop. Lawrence & Wishart. 138 pp. 6s. 6d.

PAMPHLETS.

Weakness Through Strength. G. D. H. Cole. Union of Democratic Control. 16 pp. 1s.

Japanese Peace Treaty. A. A. Gromyko. Soviet News. 34 pp. 1d.

Art and the Artist in Hungary. Derek Chittock. Hungarian News and Information Service. 24 pp. 9d.

Science in the Universities. Association of Scientific Workers. 40 pp. 1s.

Song of Peace. Vitezslav Nezval. Fore Publications. 16 pp. 1s.

We Have Learned the Truth about the Soviet Union. Reports of foreign delegations. Soviet News. 64 pp. 6d.

United Action. Louis Saillant. W.F.T.U. Publications Ltd. 66 pp 1s.

Spotlight on Shopping. Association of Scientific Workers. 32 pp. 1s.

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FAREWELL

On the brink of each New Year some of us must always be conscious of personal losses, remembering friends and comrades in struggle who can only be present as a memory and inspiration to spur us on; and who could wish for a finer form of future life? It is fitting this New Year to mention one, cut off after great suffering when she should have had many active years before her. Her first name you will find below, In Memoriam. To an old and dear friend of *L.M.*, and therefore of its readers, this farewell, from her partner: 'Neither of us ever looked to withdraw from the strain of life, and it is now with the object of perpetuating her memory in a way that shall not be forgotten that I ask you to print this memorial in our beloved *L.M.*, which one day will, in great joy and as a banner flying, crown in reality the earthly dreams of us all. And though many must accept the simple role in so great a cause, yet to belong at all is not only an honour, but uplifts one to an appreciation which bridges all, even death itself, in the sense of the joys to come for those that follow. So are our own setbacks and disappointments dispelled.'

In this spirit of devotion to the cause of humanity let us face the New Year of decision.

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